

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO USMISSION BERLIN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

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E. O. 11652: DECLAS 4/20/73

TAGS: PGOV, GW. GE

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S 1972 REPORT ON US FOREIGN POLICY

1. THERE FOLLOWS FOR POST INFORMATION THE TEXT OF THE  
GERMAN SECTION OF THE SECRETARY'S ANNUAL FOREIGN POLICY  
REPORT WHICH WILL BE PUBLISHED APRIL 19. POSTS SHOULD  
PROTECT TEXT UNTIL RELEASE DATE.

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2. BEGIN TEXT: GERMANY. THE YEAR 1972 WAS A BENCHMARK  
YEAR FOR POSTWAR GERMAN DEVELOPMENTS. THE TWO GERMAN

STATES CONCLUDED A BASIC AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH FORMAL RELATIONS THROUGH THE EXCHANGE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES. THE FOUR POWERS HAVING SPECIAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE ( THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE AND THE USSR) CONCLUDED TWO AGREEMENTS FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE SECURITY OF BERLIN AND IMPROVING CONDITIONS FOR THE BERLINERS. THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THE CRITICAL AND COMPLICATED NEGOTIATIONS, THE UNITED STATES, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY ( FRG), AND OTHER ALLIES MAINTAINED CLOSE AND CANDID POLITICAL CONSULTATION- THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC- FREE DEMOCRATIC COALITION, LED BY CHANCELLOR BRANDT AND FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL, WON A MAJORITY OF BUNDESTAG SEATS IN ELECTIONS HELD IN NOVEMBER ASSURING CONTINUATION OF THE CHANCELLOR'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES.

THE BERLIN AGREEMENT. LAST YEAR'S REPORT CONTAINED A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE COMPLETION OF THE FIRST PHASE OF QUADRIPARTITE NEGOTIATIONS ON BERLIN. IT ALSO NOTED THAT THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GERMAN AUTHORITIES, AS FORESEEN IN THE FIRST PHASE OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT, WERE SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED IN DECEMBER 1971. THE COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT, ENCOMPASSING BOTH THE QUADRIPARTITE AND THE INNER GERMAN ACCORDS, CAME INTO FORCE WITH SIGNATURE BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, AND THE USSR OF A FINAL QUADRIPARTITE PROTOCOL IN BERLIN ON JUNE 3, 1972. CONSEQUENTLY, TRAFFIC BETWEEN THE FRG AND BERLIN HAS BEEN FACILITATED, VISITS BY WEST BERLINERS TO EAST BERLIN AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC ( GDR) HAVE BECOME FREQUENT , AND COMMUNICATIONS IN THE BERLIN AREA HAVE BEEN GREATLY IMPROVED. IN ADDITION TO THESE BENEFITS FOR THE BERLINERS, THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH OTHER EAST-WEST ISSUES COULD MORE FAVORABLY BE PURSUED.

GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS. AS PRESIDENT NIXON STATED IN HIS REPORT TO THE CONGRESS OF FEBRUARY 25, 1971, QTE THE GERMAN NATIONAL QUESTION IS BASICALLY ONE FOR THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GERMAN PEOPLE. IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC SHOULD ASSIGN IT HIGH PRIORITY. UNQTE. ON DECEMBER 21, 1972, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC ( FRG) ACHIEVED A MAJOR SUCCESS IN ITS TENACIOUS SEARCH FOR A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE GDR MAKING POSSIBLE A LESS RESTRICTED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GERMAN PEOPLE IN EAST AND WEST. ON THAT DATE A BASIC TREATY ON RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR WAS SIGNED, PROVIDING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS AND OPENING THE

WAY FOR THE FUTURE ADMISSION OF EACH TO THE UNITED NATIONS. THE FORMAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF GERMANY WAS ESTABLISHED WITHOUT SURRENDER OF BONN'S CONCEPT OF A SINGLE GERMAN NATION OR THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION CONCERNING THE NATIONAL QUESTION. IN THE BASIC TREATY THE TWO CONTRACTING PARTIES AGREED TO QTE EXCHANGE PERMANENT REPRESENTATION UNQTE AND TO CONCLUDE FURTHER AGREEMENTS IN THE FIELDS OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, TRANSPORTATION, CULTURE, ENVIRONMENT, AND OTHER AREAS. IN A SEPARATE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS, THEY SPECIFICALLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FOUR POWERS WERE NOT AFFECTED BY THE TREATY. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT ON BERLIN, THE INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN IN THE GDR WOULD BE REPRESENTED BY THE FRG. IN ANOTHER EXCHANGE OF

LETTERS, THE FRG AND THE GDR, AGREED THAT EACH GOVERNMENT WOULD SEEK MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

IN MAY 1972 THE FRG RATIFIED THE BILATERAL NONUSE OF FORCE TREATIES NEGOTIATED IN 1970 WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND. THE TREATIES TOOK EFFECT FOLLOWING EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS IN JUNE, THEREBY ESTABLISHING A BASIS FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND EASTERN EUROPE. ONE EARLY RESULT OF THE TREATY WITH POLAND WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN SEPTEMBER 1972, AN ACT WHICH SYMBOLICALLY HELPED FURTHER TO ELIMINATE THE LEGACY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND WHICH IT IS HOPED WILL PROVIDE THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR A DIRECT AND BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO STATES.

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THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE HELPED TO PROVIDE A REALISTIC BASIS FOR THE REMOVAL OF STUBBORN IMPEDIMENTS IN THE PATH OF A MORE ASSURED AND STABLE ORDER IN EUROPE.

QUADRIpartite DECLARATION. IN VIEW OF THE DECISION OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES TO SEEK UN MEMBERSHIP, THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, AND THE SOVIET UNION, AFTER NEGOTIATIONS IN BERLIN, ISSUED ON NOVEMBER 9, 1972, A QUADRIpartite DECLARATION ON GERMANY STATING:

QTE THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, HAVING BEEN REPRESENTED BY THEIR

AMBASSADORS, WHO HELD A SERIES OF MEETINGS  
IN THE BUILDING FORMERLY OCCUPIED BY THE  
ALLIED CONTROL COUNCIL, ARE IN AGREEMENT  
THAT THEY WILL SUPPORT THE APPLICATIONS FOR  
MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS WHEN SUB-  
MITTED BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY  
AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, AND  
AFFIRM IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THIS  
MEMBERSHIP SHALL IN NO WAY AFFECT THE RIGHTS  
AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FOUR POWERS AND  
THE COEXISTING RELATED QUADRIPARTITE  
AGREEMENTS, DECISIONS, AND PRACTICES. UNQTE.

THE PRINCIPAL EFFECT OF THIS QUADRIPARTITE DECLARATION  
IS TO MAKE IT CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT GDR MEMBERSHIP IN  
THE UNITED NATIONS WILL NOT IN ANY WAY ALTER THOSE

QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND PRACTICES WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO  
THE SECURITY AND WELFARE OF BERLIN.

FOLLOWING THE INITIALLING OF THE BASIC TREATY AND  
RELEASE OF THE QUADRIPARTITE DECLARATION, THE GDR WAS  
VOTED MEMBERSHIP IN UNESCO BY ACCLAMATION ON NOVEMBER 20  
AND WAS SUBSEQUENTLY GIVEN OBSERVER STATUS AT THE UNITED  
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NATIONS.

IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT THE FRG AND THE GDR WILL APPLY  
FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIRST HALF OF  
1973 FOLLOWING RATIFICATION OF THE BASIC TREATY AND THE  
ENACTMENT OF THE ENABLING LEGISLATION NECESSARY IN THE  
CASE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE  
SAME CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN THE  
UNITED NATIONS FROM WHICH WE HAVE MUTUALLY BENEFITED IN  
BILATERAL RELATIONS AND OTHER MULTILATERAL FORUMS.

WE ANTICIPATE THAT THERE WILL BE US- GDR TALKS IN 1973  
ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BILATERAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

GERMAN MARSHALL FUND. ON JUNE 5, 1972, AT HARVARD  
UNIVERSITY, ON THE 25 TH ANNIVERSARY OF SECRETARY MARSHALL'S  
ANNOUNCEMENT AT HARVARD OF THE PLAN WHICH BEARS HIS  
NAME, CHANCELLOR BRANDT PRAISED THAT QTE CONSTRUCTIVE  
ANSWER FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE CHALLENGE OF DESPAIR,  
HELPLESSNESS AND DISTRESS. UNQTE. DECLARING THAT  
THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE QTE REMAINS THE BASIS FOR OUR  
PLANS AND OF OUR ACTIONS, UNQTE THE CHANCELLOR ANNOUNCED  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE QTE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE  
UNITED STATES UNQTE TO WHICH HE STATED THE FEDERAL GERMAN

GOVERNMENT WILL PROVIDE 150 MILLION GERMAN MARKS OVER  
THE NEXT 15 YEARS.

THE FUND, WHICH AS AN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION WILL  
ADMINISTER ITS PROCEEDS WITHOUT INFLUENCE BY THE GERMAN  
DONOR, WILL CONCENTRATE ITS ATTENTION ON PROBLEMS  
CONFRONTING ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES, COMMON INTERESTS  
OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES, AND EUROPEAN STUDIES.  
MR. BENJAMIN H. READ, FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF THE WOODROW  
WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS AT THE SMITHSON-  
IAN INSTITUTION, HAS BEEN ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE FUND.

THE FUND'S ESTABLISHMENT IN MEMORY OF THE AMERICAN  
STATESMAN WHO IN THE BLEAK DAYS FOLLOWING THE WORLD  
HOLOCAUST ENDEAVORED TO CREATE THE POSTWAR ATLANTIC  
PARTNERSHIP -- INCLUDING ERSTWHILE FRIENDS AND ENEMIES  
ALIKE -- IS SYMBOLIC OF THE STRONG AND CONFIDENT SUPPORT

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WHICH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAS ALWAYS GIVEN TO THAT  
PARTNERSHIP AND TO THE INSTITUTIONS WHICH EXIST TO  
PROMOTE IT.

TRADE RELATIONS. THE MULTILATERAL CURRENCY  
REALIGNMENT OF DECEMBER 1971 BROUGHT A 10-12 PERCENT  
DEVALUATION OF THE US

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